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Master's Thesis

**A Comparative Study on
Muslim Women's Work in Uzbekistan and
Kazakhstan**

February 2018

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무슬림 여성의 경제활동 비교연구:

우즈베키스탄과 카자흐스탄을 중심으로

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Abstract

A Comparative Study on Muslim Women's Work in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan

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During the Soviet Era, Central Asian countries underwent the process of forced modernization and women's emancipation. As part of an effort to modernize and industrialize the region, the Soviet government implemented female liberation campaigns in Central Asian Muslim societies. However, despite the common Soviet experience, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan show different levels of gender equality. The purpose of this paper is to examine why such disparities occur. This paper argues that the culture – whether sedentary or nomadic a society was before the Soviet colonization – is a key factor in understanding the current gender relations in two countries. By observing the status of women in labor market, it suggests that gender inequality level is higher in traditionally sedentary Uzbekistan than nomadic Kazakhstan.

Keywords: Muslim women, sedentary, nomadic, Central Asia, economic participation, gender equality

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I. Introduction

The republics of Central Asia share experiences of Soviet colonization, which lasted over seventy years. During the Soviet Era, in an attempt to weaken traditional Islamic values and national identities predominant in Central Asia, the Soviet government implemented women's emancipation movement. The Soviet mobilized women's talents to achieve some of its economic and ideological goals. To build a stronger industrialized economy, they had to make use of female labor effectively and to spread its communist ideology, they had to Russianize the people by eliminating old Islamic traditions. Despite the process of forced modernization the Central Asian countries underwent during the Soviet Era, traditional identities and subjectivities persisted in those regions. The process of Sovietization has created tensions between traditionalism and modernism, however, there has been a difference in the extent of flexibility to the change in each country. Some Central Asian countries took more flexible paths merging the traditional lifestyle with modernism, while other countries continued to preserve and strengthen its tradition and subjectivity.

The Soviet's effort to increase women's labor force participation did enhance female status at work. However, whether it has succeeded to change the people's attitude towards gender roles remain skeptical. Through the observation, we can see that traditional gender role has not been merely swept away, but has been maintained inside the Muslim families throughout the Soviet times beneath the strict patriarchal system.

Especially, in Uzbekistan the Soviet policy provoked a harsh resistance than any other Central Asian republics. When the Soviets tried to unveil Uzbek women, the Uzbek people united and fought against foreign forces to protect their old tradition. The anti-Soviet sentiment formed during this period has remained for long and contributed to consolidating the patriarchal Islamic tradition after the independence.

In the beginning of the 1990s, as a newly emerging state, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan showed efforts to be integrated into the international society. To be accepted in western society, it was important for both countries to comply with international norms on human rights issue, including the gender equality. By becoming a member of international organizations and signing the treaties that protect women rights, Central Asian countries were able to obtain a “yardstick for a country’s prestige in the international community.”¹ In accordance with this, all Central Asian countries ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). CEDAW’s primary mission in these regions was first, to urge states to have a policy and a national machinery on gender, second, to monitor the development of gender equality at a national level, and lastly, to work as a channel for funding. Moreover, feminist NGOs and family laws protecting women’s rights were established in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Now, the Women’s committees are working in each country

¹ Gunes-Ayata & Ergun Ayca. 2009. “Gender Politics in Transitional Societies,” in Racioppi L. & See K. O. eds. *Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia*. Michigan: Michigan State University Press.

to protect women's rights, such as inheritance rights, right to divorce, and right to monogamy.²

Also Uzbek and Kazakh government provided equal opportunity in education for male and female. Correspondingly, the literacy and education level of female is relatively high in both republics. The statistics of Asian Development bank show that the female literacy level is almost identical with that of the male in both countries; in Uzbekistan, 99.7% of male and 99.5% of female were able to write and read, and in Kazakhstan, 99.8% of male and 99.8% female were literate. Also, the school life expectancy rate was high among Uzbek and Kazakh women; on average women in Uzbekistan studied 12 years, and women in Kazakhstan 15 years.

Despite the government policies and high education level, the status of women is still low in both countries. It is interesting to note that the gender inequality level differs in each region. Although Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan share common Islamic and Soviet heritage, women's status, especially their participation in labor force differ. The purpose of this thesis is to compare the differences and study why such disparities occur. There are several previous studies that focus on whether soviet policy has been successful in enhancing women's status in Central Asian regions or not and how Muslim women has kept the balance between tradition and Soviet modernization. However, little

² Ibid.

studies are done on the regional disparities in women equality in the post-soviet Central Asian countries.

The main purpose of this thesis is to compare the differences in the changes of gender status, particularly in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan after the independence. My research questions are: first, did the Soviet colonization change the status of Muslim women in Central Asia? Second, how does the status of women differ in the ex-Soviet republics, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan? Lastly, what are the factors that influence the divergences in their attitude towards gender? My argument is that despite similar experiences, there are significant differences in the attitudes towards gender in Central Asia. In case of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, I argue that cultural characteristics – sedentary or nomadic a society was – before the Soviet era, combined with colonial action has influenced the degree of gender conservatism in each country. In other words, Uzbekistan, which has a long history of settlement is more conservative in attitudes toward gender role than nomadic Kazakhstan.

II. Literature Review

There are several factors that influence women's labor force participation. A significant number of literature examines the impact of economic development on female labor force participation. Sinha (1967) first suggested that there is a positive relationship between economic growth and women's labor force participation. His argument is that there is a U-shaped relationship between women's participation in

economy and economic growth.³ This ‘feminization U hypothesis’ has been discussed theoretically and empirically by a line of studies (Boserup 1970, Goldin 1994, Gaddis and Klasen 2013, Lechman and Kaur 2015, Mammen and Paxon 2000, Tam 2010) and now it has become a dominant argument, a “stylized fact” in the sphere.⁴

Boserup(1970) and Goldin(1994) suggests that women’s labor force participation rate is high in the agricultural economy, however, as technology develops and economy expands, the market favors male to female labor force, and women’s participation rate in economy decreases.⁵ During this early stage of economic growth, there is a trade-off between economic development and gender equality in the labor market (Gaddis and Klasen 2013, Lechman and Kaur 2015). However, as female education improves and the economy shifts from industrial to service-based economy, the female labor force rises again in the market.

No doubt, economic growth is an important factor in promoting gender equality. However, the question is whether feminization U hypothesis is relevant to all developing

³ Sinha J. N. 1967. “Dynamics of Female Participation in Economic Activity in a Developing Economy,” in United Nations department of economic and social affairs. Proceedings of the world population conference. Belgrade 1965. Vol. 4. New York: UN Publications.

⁴ Gaddis, Isis & Klasen, Stephan. 2014. “Economic Development, Structural Change, and Women’s Labor Force Participation,” Journal of Population Economics. Vol. 27(3). p. 640

⁵ Goldin, Claudia. 1995. “The U-shaped Female Labor Force Function in Economic Development and Economic History,” in Schultz, T.P. eds. *Investment in Women's Human Capital*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. pp. 61–90.

countries with different religions. Because of limited data and resources, the evidences based on long time observation of such U-shaped relationship is scarce and restricted to certain Western countries. So far, the long time-series evidence of U hypothesis accessible is for the US, recorded by Goldin (1995), and for England and France by Tilly and Scott (1987).⁶ Ewa Lechman and Karleen Kaur claims that the dynamics between economic growth and female labor participation may vary across cultures, depending on the religion, social norms and several other factors. For instance, in some Muslim societies, religious restrictions limit women's "unbound access to the labor market, hence the well-grounded U-shaped relationship may vanish."⁷ To elaborate the argument, they classified 162 countries into four different income groups: low-income, lower-middle-income, upper-middle-income, and high-income countries⁸ and found out that the U hypothesis fits more to high-income countries than to low-income countries. Also, the results show that among high income countries, four Muslim societies – Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Bahrain – do not confirm with the U-shaped relationship. Although those countries show stable economic growth, due to

⁶ Tam, Henry. 2011. "U-shaped Female Labor Participation with Economic Development: Some Panel Data Evidence," *Economics Letters*. 110(2). p.140.

⁷ Lechman, Ewa & Kaur, Harleen. 2015. "Economic Growth and Female Labor Force Participation – Verifying the U-Feminization Hypothesis. New evidence for 162 countries over the period 1990-2012," *Economics and Sociology*. Vol. 8. No 1. p. 248

⁸ Ibid.

socio-cultural constraints, women's participation rate in the economy is very low.⁹

Accordingly, I believe that culture is a key factor that hinders the promotion of women's economic and political autonomy in two Muslim societies, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, and it is an essential factor in comparing and explaining the disparities of women's status in two societies. Neither economic nor political empowerment of women can be achieved without strengthening women's basic rights. "The promotion of women's economic rights entails promoting a range of women's rights: their sexual and reproductive rights and rights to education, to mobility, to voice, to ownership, and to live from violence."¹⁰ However, in Muslim society old conservative culture and tradition hinders women's access to workplace. The UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) suggests that cultural factor(religion) is one of the main constraints realizing the full potential of women in the process of economic development.¹¹ Religion is still a dominant factor that determines gender norms and threatens women's right to work in Muslim societies. The violence against women and early forced marriages remain prevalent in Muslim societies in Central Asia and there still are strong limits in Muslim women's participation in economic and political spheres.

⁹ Ibid. p.252

¹⁰ Bradshaw, Sarah & Castellino, Joshua & Diop, Bineta. 2013. "Women's role in the economic development: Overcoming the constraints". The United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network. p. 13.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 6.

It is interesting to note that although both Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are Muslim countries, the gender disparities in labor force participation differ in each country. In order to understand why such disparities occur, it is important to trace back to the history of Islamic, Mongolic and Soviet colonization, and see how it has influenced people's lifestyle and culture in each region. The cultural peculiarity of each society that has been developed and preserved throughout the history of colonization had an important impact on people's lifestyle and is a plausible factor in explaining the current gender relations in each country. My argument is that the culture of a society – whether sedentary or nomadic – played an important role during the process of Islamization and the Soviet colonization. To be specific, in Uzbekistan, where agricultural sedentary lifestyle prevailed, Islam was accepted earlier and was more systematized than in Kazakhstan with nomadic tradition, and, consequently, Uzbekistan was more repulsive to the Soviet's female emancipation movement. Such differences in Islamic tendency and openness to external forces shaped the degree of gender conservatism today in two countries.

The proposed topic of this thesis has been addressed previously by Kim Sang Cheol. In his paper, he argues that the changes in the status of women in Central Asian countries are closely linked to nomadic and non-nomadic zones. His statement is interesting in that it gives an alternative view on the gender issue. Kim Sang Cheol mainly develops his argument by focusing on the changes of women status in the Imperial-Russian and the Soviet Central Asia. This paper will further develop his

argument by comparing specifically two countries – Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. More specifically, it will compare the differences in gender status by observing the current women's labor force participation in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. I chose two countries because, I found it interesting to observe how the two countries of similar ethnic and cultural background developed different social structure that persisted and influenced gender relations today. Before the ethnic segmentation in the fifteenth century, Uzbeks and Kazakhs (it was only after fifteenth century the terms as 'Kazakhs' and 'Uzbeks' were created to refer to the separate groups) considered themselves as one people. They belonged to same ethnic background, spoke same Turkish language, and lived a similar way of life. In this study I will examine firstly, how Uzbeks and Kazakhs were separated into two different nations, secondly, the influence of Islamic tradition on the sedentary Uzbek and nomadic Kazakh, thirdly, the impact of Soviets colonization on each republic, and finally, how it is reflected in the gender relations of two countries today. My argument is that the factors – the religiosity, the lifestyle (sedentary or nomadic), and the gender inequality of a society – are not independent from each other but rather interrelated. This work is meaningful in that it will prove prior argument by taking a closer look at the issue by comparing the present status of Muslim women in two regions, nomadic Kazakhstan and non-nomadic Uzbekistan.

III. Sedentary Uzbeks and Nomadic Kazakhs

1. Ethnic Segmentation in the Pre-Soviet Era

For the past several centuries, the Central Asian republics has been under the rule of three great empires: the Islamic, the Mongol, and the Russian Empire. Each empire left a strong imprint on the regions it ruled and has influenced greatly in the formation of diverse Central Asian identities. Identities and traditions that persist in Central Asian societies today emerged from the earlier imperial traditions. Especially, the Mongol influence, that lasted for a long time from 13th up to the 19th century, had a considerable influence on the Central Asian societies. However, although many societies in Central Asia descended from the same family of Chinggis Khan, they did not mingle into one culture but developed and preserved separate identities. Manz suggests that under the Islamic caliphate, and under the Mongols we can see “a deliberately plural society in which different cultures and languages were intertwined” and also notes that “the commonly accepted markers of identity – language, territory, history, common customary practices – do not fit in Central Asia.”¹² Under the Mongols, Central Asia did not create a uniform culture but different peoples, languages, and cultures lived together and were ruled by a heterogenous group of Mongolian, Turkic, and Persian elites. Each

¹² Manz, F. Beartice. 2003. “Multi-Ethnic Empires and the Formulation of Identity,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Vol. 26. No. 1. pp.71-75, 83

group resisted to be assimilated to the other and saw itself as superior to the other.¹³ Nevertheless, the nomad Mongols and Turks could coexist with the settled Iranians since they supplemented each other. The elite groups knew that high culture of the Persians and the strong army of the nomads would cover the weaknesses of both sides, thus, they decided to maintain the mutually beneficial relationship. This tendency of ethnic separation within the territory had continued for centuries and had been accelerated later in the fifteenth century with the emergence of two major nations in Central Asia, Uzbeks and Kazakhs. It is important to mention the Chagatai khanate to understand the process of separation of the two ethnic groups.

The regions of the vast Mongol empire were ruled by the sons and family members of Chinggis Khan and the territories of Central Asia was allocated to his second son Chagatai, where he built Chagatai khanate, one of the four major dynasties that descended from Chinggis Khan.¹⁴ He mainly ruled the regions from the eastern and western Turkestan to Altai. Chagatai people identified themselves as Turkic speaking nomads descended from the Mongol tradition and differentiated themselves from the settled Iranian population. However, in the 14th century under the ruler Tarmashirin Khan (1326-1334) old Mongolic nomadic traditions were thrown away, while Islam and settled

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ The other three dynasties include: the Ilkhan dynasty in Iran, the Ulus Jochi in the steppe lands of Russia and Kazakhstan, and the Yuan dynasty in China and Mongolia. For elaboration see Manz.2003. p.85

lifestyle, which brought economic and political gains, were adopted. This sparked strong opposition from some of the counterparts and eventually led to the division of Chagatai khanate. The eastern region resisted to the change and continued to maintain nomadic tradition, whereas, the western region, adapted to settled agricultural lifestyle, much of its people converting to Muslims. This western part of the region, including Transoxiana (current day Uzbekistan), met a new ruler in 1370 Amir Timur (1336-1405), who united the divided regions and embraced both the nomadic and Islamic settled traditions. However, later Abul Khayr Khan, the descendent of Chingis Khan's eldest son Jochi, and his grandson Muhammad Shabayni, a more legitimate heir, took control over Transoxiana and the regions of Timurids. They formed Uzbek khanate based on sedentary lifestyle that persisted until the Russian conquest of Central Asia. Two other descendants of Chinggis Khan, Girey and Janibek, abandoned Abul Khayr Khan and separately built a society in the northern steppe, based on nomadic traditions. The name Kazakh (*Qazaqa* in Turkic) was given to this group that rose against Abul Khayr Khan, which originally meant a betrayer.¹⁵ As such, Uzbeks and Kazakhs originated from common place and background, however, the customs and lifestyles they followed differed for the next centuries.

Here, it is interesting to note that for centuries when ethnic groups within

¹⁵ 정세진. 2008. “우즈베크와 카자흐 민족의 문화 유형 담론과 분화 과정 고찰,” 슬라브학보. 제 24권. 4호. p. 408.

Mongol territory tried to split, the important factor that distinguished them from each other was not the language, origin, or territory, but the question of how nomadic or sedentary they were. Just like the Chagatai khanate, when Uzbeks and Kazakhs were divided, they faced similar question of whether to adhere to conservative Mongol traditions and Mongol shamanism or to accept agricultural sedentary lifestyle and Islamic tradition. Kazakhs chose the former, whereas, Uzbeks the latter. Manzs states that “in the case of the Kazakhs there seems to have been a deliberate effort to emphasize their nomadism in relation to other Turco-Mongolian peoples” and he further quotes the Kazakh Khan Kasim’s words:

“We are men of the steppe. Little good is to be found here other than horses.

Our food is horse flesh and in our region there are no gardens or buildings.

Our recreation is to inspect our herds.”¹⁶

2. Different Missions of the Soviet Government

In modern Soviet empire Muslim and nomadic traditions were considered inferior, dangerous and uncivilized. There were pressures upon the elites of regions to assimilate to the Russian way of life. The Soviet government’s target was to modernize and industrialize the regions of Central Asia by enlightening the people, russifying their life, and ultimately, drawing as many people as possible to the Communist party. They

¹⁶ Manz, F. Beartice. 2003. “Multi-Ethnic Empires and the Formulation of Identity,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Vol. 26. No. 1. p. 89.

used different missions in each region as an instrument to eradicate the cultural traits that seemed to be an obstacle in achieving their goal. The important aim concealed beneath such mission was to prevent any attempts of pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic uprising against the Soviets. The fear of the potential power that laid under the diverse ethnic groups tied with one religion and background made the Soviets focus on weakening the people's strong loyalty to their tribes and Islam that was deeply rooted in the regions of Central Asia.

To make the control of diverse ethnic groups easier, what Soviets did first was they drew new borders in the regions of Central Asia into five Soviet republics – Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan – and classified groups of people by ethnicity and herded them into the region. Before the Soviet Era, there was no clear border among the societies as it is now in present-day Central Asia, and the notion of national identity and territory was not formed in the people's mind. They rather identified themselves as people of Islamic and Mongolic tradition. In this way the Soviets could control each region easily, preventing them unite in one religion, and realize its communistic goal – complete the economic, political, social, and cultural transformation in the area and expand the socialist power. Although the republics shared similar historical and linguistic heritage, the Bolshevik activists and elite groups in each republic tried to create different identity peculiar to the area and eventually by the collapse of the Soviet Union, each republic acquired the modern form of national identity based on common land, history, language, and culture. During the process of

transformation, the Soviet government carried out different policies in Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) and Kazakh SSR.

2.1. The Uzbek SSR

In case of the Uzbeks, where Islam was deeply rooted in people's everyday life, Russians emphasized the female emancipation mission. Soviets saw the Islamic patriarchal tradition as old, retrogressive, and ineffective in modern industrialized society, which needs to be eradicated.

“Industrialization and collectivization were the main goals of Stalin’s regime. As Soviet society developed, women’s freedom to participate in the workforce was transformed into a duty. World War Two and the resulting acute need for labor gave Uzbek women the opportunity to “stand cheek by jowl with her husband, father, or brother in the struggle for new life.” During the 1940s and 1950s Soviet women were routinely portrayed in various media as the “great strength” of socialism and “the pride of the Soviet people.””¹⁷

From the beginning of the Revolution the Soviet government promoted the plan

¹⁷ Constantine, Elizabeth A. 2007. “Practical Consequences of Soviet Policy and Ideology for Gender in Central Asia and Contemporary Reversal,” in Jeff Sahadeo & Russell Zanca eds. *Everyday Life in Central Asia. Past and Present*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. pp. 119, 120.

to guarantee women's rights in all social, economic and political spheres by law. In 1919, in an attempt to implant communistic principles and values, materialism and scientific knowledge in the agrarian people, the Soviet government enacted education law, which gave equal rights to women and men to receive education for free. In 1919-1921, the family law was established to empower women by forbidding early forced marriages, polygamy, and *khalym* (a bride wealth).¹⁸ Every married couple was obliged to report their marriage at the Soviet civil office. Further they gave equal rights to women in divorce and property issues, and electoral participation to awaken self-consciousness of women and make them more autonomous. Muslim women in the Soviet rule had an opportunity to engage in politics and labor market, which traditionally used to be the domain of male, and were motivated by the agencies like “Женотдел” (*Zhenotdel*, Women's Department) and female executive members sent by the government to initiate the change.¹⁹

One of the most severe attack on Islam carried out in Uzbekistan was the *hujum* movement. In early 1927s, in the city of Tashkent (the capital of current Uzbekistan) the activists of *Zhenotdel* implemented a campaign against veiling and seclusion of Muslim

¹⁸ Ibid. p.120

¹⁹ Workers of *Zhenotdel* participated in various projects that are aimed at increasing the influence of the Party by enlightening Muslim. Their works included building women's club, increasing public daycare facilities and women's-only stores(*lavki*) and bringing Muslim women into the labor force and to schools. For elaboration, see Mary Buckley 1989, Douglas T. N. 2001.

women. They saw the tradition of veiling Muslim women from the early age of ten and secluding them in houses restricted their basic freedoms. The first movement took place in 1927, March 8th on International Women's Day, nine thousand women cast off their *parandja* and burned them. This, in reply arose strong resistance from the anti-Soviet Islamic groups. Veil meant a lot to Muslims. Covering their wives and daughter with hijab is an old tradition Muslims regard highly, that is even mentioned in Koran. Strict gender roles, what female should and should not do, are an important rule of Islam and intruding on it meant violating the sanctity of their religion. That is why, the unveiling campaign provoked the most unprecedentedly violent resistance, which was not seen even when the Soviets launched the National Delimitation Act in 1924. For instance, in Uzbekistan most mullahs especially "the traditionalist clerics *qadymists* objected to unveiling on religious grounds referring to the Koran"²⁰:

"The prophet Muhammad commanded [us] to veil women; it follows that the unveiling of women violates the principles of religion. Women is a debauched creature. God gave 9/10 of all lust to the women, and only one part in ten to the man. The veil of women's lust is the paranji. The unveiling of women entails the debauchery of the entire world. Cursed be the days of our life! Cursed be those who are the first to proceed with the unveiling

²⁰ Northrop, Douglas. 2001. "Hujum: Unveiling Campaigns and Local Responses in Uzbekistan, 1927," in Raleigh, Donald J. *Provincial Landscapes: Local Dimensions of Soviet Power, 1917-1953*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. p.135

of women, and who show [others] an evil example.”²¹

The mullahs not only publicly criticized the Soviets in mosques, but visited private houses to disseminate the “apocalyptic implications” of Soviet unveiling, and assure men not to unveil their wives, daughters, and female relatives. And they made Uzbek women attend special religious schools and meetings, where they are taught not to surrender to the activists of the Zhenotdel, the “prostitutes striving to nationalize women.” The Soviets’ effort and expectations to unveil Muslim women within 6 months failed, instead, this, combined with the anti-foreign sentiments, spread the practice of veiling and seclusion even more widely in all classes and areas than before.²² In a patriarchal society, where men hold most of the authorities at home, women could not but listen to their husband. Even if men agreed with the unveiling they could not openly reveal their thoughts outside and they continued to veil their wives and daughters to protect them from being criticized or attacked or even raped and killed by the neighbors. From the beginning, maybe, it was impossible to free women without overturning the patriarchal system itself. Some suggest that the Soviet’s women liberation policy did not actually free women from past traditions, but doubled their burden, since they had to manage both work and family duties. It did change Muslim women’s life giving them an

²¹ Ibid. p.136

²² The tradition of wearing veil was more common in upper-class families living in urban areas than in rural lower-class families. In a part, veil functioned as a symbol of social status and protection for the female of higher classes in Uzbekistan.

opportunity to participate in public life, paid work and education and it did enhance the status of Muslim women in legislation, but in their homes, their status did not change a lot.²³ Despite the early successes shown at the beginning of the movement, later reports show that “for every eight that unveil, nine reveal” and within 6 months 60 percent of the women who unveiled have veiled again.²⁴

2.2. The Kazakh SSR

In case of the Kazakhs, such unveiling was not necessary since Kazakh women rarely veiled. Instead, the Soviet government enforced collectivization in this area. In the 1920s and 30s Russians depicted nomads as “poor and backward” desert-dwellers, living in poor sanitation, where disease, lack of education, and superstitions prevailed. Also because of inconsistency in the size of the herd, the nomadic lifestyle was considered economically ineffective than that of sedentary agriculturalists.²⁵ “In the logic of Soviet thinking, those who opposed Soviet power tended to be defined as “class enemies.” Gradually, nomads came to be defined more and more as “kulaks,” a “non-

²³ 박혜경. 2011. “현대 러시아에서 이슬람의 부활, 그리고 여성 무슬림의 선택,” 러시아연구. 제21권. 제1호. p. 193.

²⁴ Northrop, Douglas. 2001. “Hujum: Unveiling Campaigns and Local Responses in Uzbekistan, 1927,” in Raleigh, Donald J. *Provincial Landscapes: Local Dimensions of Soviet Power, 1917-1953*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. pp. 140.

²⁵ Edgar, Adrienne Lynn. 1999. “The Creation of Soviet Turkmenistan, 1924-1938,” PhD. University of California. Berkeley. p.134

laboring" part of the population that should be liquidated.”²⁶ Therefore, Russians implemented the policy of forced collectivization of nomads in the regions of Central Asia, where nomadic customs still persisted. Kazakhstan was no exceptions. The collectivization drive in Kazakhstan began in November 1929 by creating hundreds of collective farms, nationalizing privately held stocks and lands into communal property, and forcing former nomads to settle onto the new collective farms. Olcott states, “Stalin was determined to achieve final destruction of the nomadic economy and so end the political authority of the old social order”.²⁷ For the Uzbeks, already settled in agricultural regions, collective encampments of the Soviet government did not bring about much oppositions, but the Kazakhs showed strong attempts to protect their nomadic customs.²⁸ Nevertheless, Stalin’s plan to achieve collectivized economy succeeded in Kazakhstan, increasing the percent of population collectivized from 7.4 in 1929 to 95.0 in 1933 (Figure 1). Kazakhs suffered significantly due to this forced collectivization. The animal stocks of the Kazakhs starved to death and many Kazakhs died of hunger or migrated to other countries. According to the survey of Asian Development Bank, the Kazakh population decreased nearly by 900,000 between 1926-

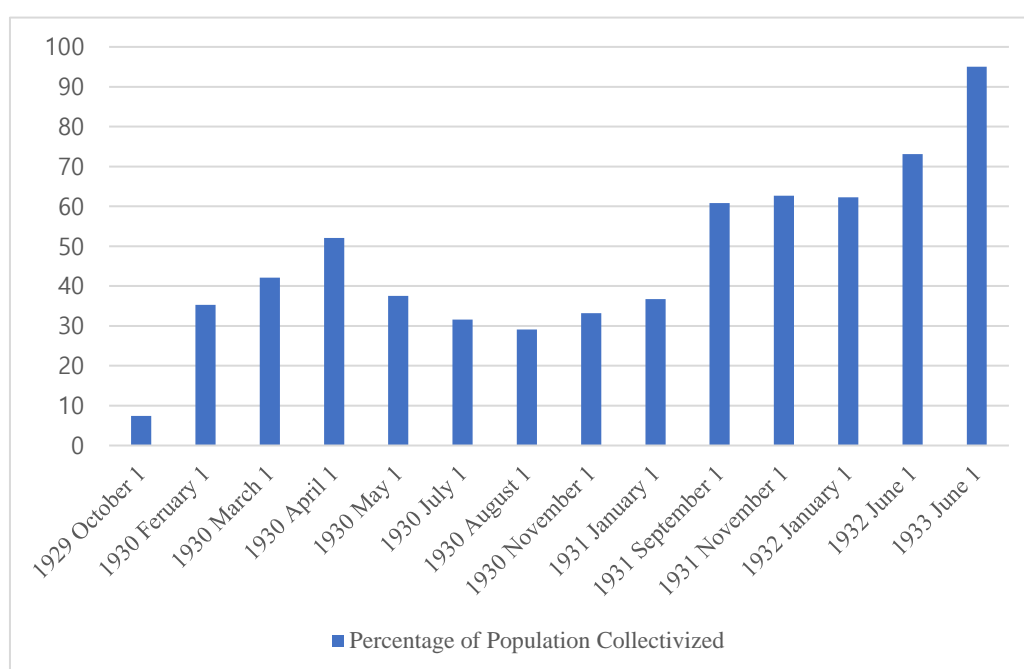
²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Olcott, Martha B. 1995. “The Kazakhs”. 2nd edition. California: Hoover Institution Press. p. 180

²⁸ Subtelny, M. 1983. “Art and Politics in early 16th century Central Asia,” *Central Asiatic Journal*. Vol. 27. No. 1-2. pp. 121-148. Manz, F. Beartice. 2003. “Multi-Ethnic Empires and the Formulation of Identity,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Vol. 26. No. 1. pp. 70-101.

1939.²⁹ Below Table 1 and 2 show that the percent of livestock breeding has declined nearly 90 percent, from 35,159 thousand in 1927 to 3,327 thousand in 1933, and the total number of households in Kazakhstan has also declined to 626,950 in 1933 from 1,350,000 in 1927 during the period of collectivization.

Figure 1. The Percentage of Population Collectivized in Kazakhstan



Source: Olcott, Martha Brill. 1995.

²⁹ Bauer, Armin & Boschmann, Nina & Green, David. 1997. "Women and Gender Relations in Kazakhstan," Manila: Asian Development Bank. p.13

Table 1. The Decline in the Number of Households in Kazakhstan

Date	Number of Households
1927 January 1	1,350,000
1928 January 1	1,194,444
1929 January 1	1,233,962
1930 January 1	1,241,754
1931 January 1	1,269,888
1932 January 1	906,839
1932 July 1	750,857
1933 January 1	630,256
1933 July 1	626,950

Source: Olcott, Martha Brill. 1995.

Table 2. Livestock Breeding in Kazakhstan

	1927	1928	1929	1933	1934
Cattle	7,592	7,972	7,442	1,600	1,591
Sheep	20,780	20,510	21,943	1,727	2,261
Total	35,159	35,139	36,317	3,327	3,852

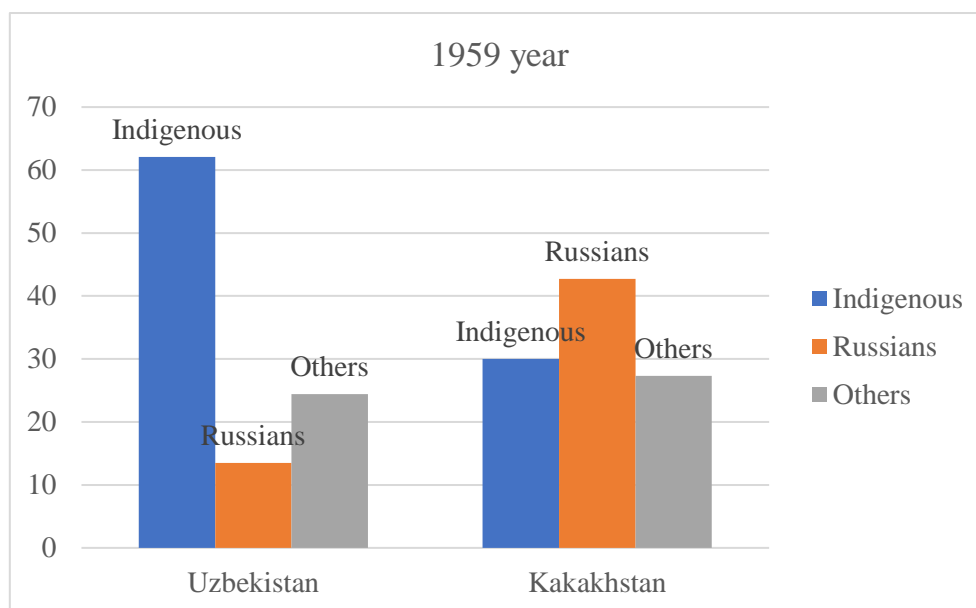
Source: Olcott, Martha Brill. 1995.

Meanwhile, during this process, the number of Russian settlers increased significantly in this “newly vacated” land. The forced sedentarization has destroyed the long tradition of clan-based networks of the Kazakhs and has contributed to the phenomenon of Kazakhs being the ethnic minority in their own territory during the most of the Soviet Era. As the Figure 2.1 shows, unlike Uzbekistan, where the Uzbeks dominate the territory, in Kazakhstan, the percentage of the Russians exceeds the native Kazakh population. This phenomenon lasts until the end of the Soviet Era (there are some changes, but insignificant; in 1970, the number of the Kazakhs increases to 32.6, Russians decreased to 42.4, in 1979, the Kazakhs – 36, Russians – 40.8, the Kazakhs still being a minority in the region³⁰) and even after the independence, Kazakhstan remains ethnically more diverse than Uzbekistan (Figure 2.2).

³⁰ Olcott, Martha B. 1995. “The Kazakhs”. 2nd edition. California: Hoover Institution Press.

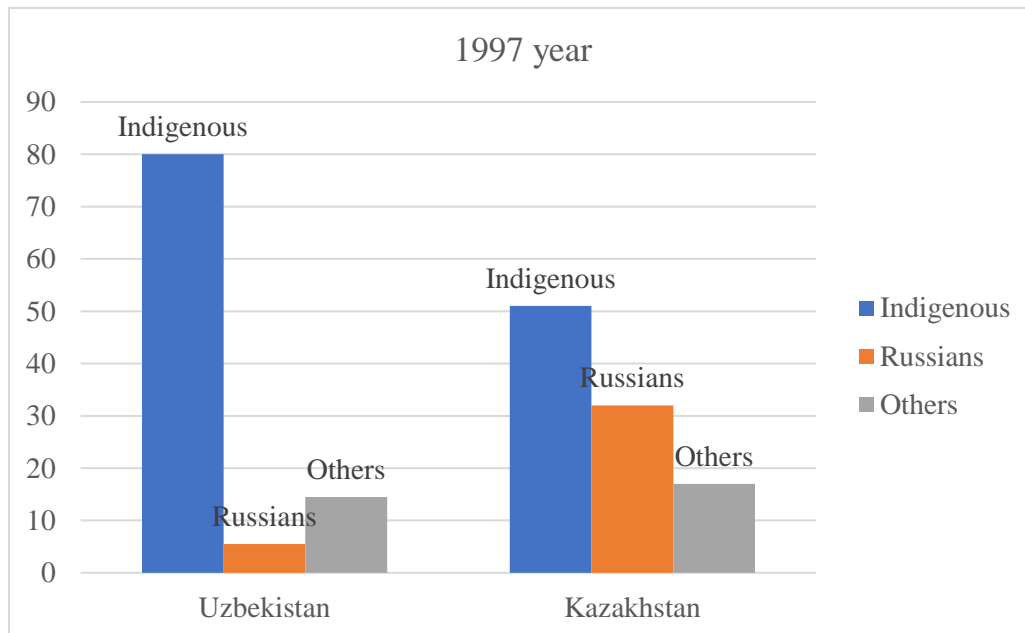
Figure 2. The Ratio of Ethnic Composition

Figure 2.1.



Sources: UN Data. 2018; CIA The World Factbook. 2018; and Akiner, Shirin. 1997.167,198

Figure 2.2.



Sources: UN Data. 2018; CIA The World Factbook. 2018; and Akiner, Shirin. 1997. 167,198

Such ethnic diversity may be related to anti-Soviet sentiment deeply rooted in the Uzbek nation after the Soviets severe suppression of Islam. After the independence, the Uzbek government put efforts to distance themselves from the Soviet past in three ways; accepting the market economy, putting pressures for the democratization of society and solidifying cultural specificity. As Gunes and Ergun emphasize, “reconsolidation of Islamic culture, patriarchic values and traditional gender roles became a part of the new national identity.”³¹ Uzbekistan government succeeded in

³¹ Gunes-Ayata & Ergun Ayca. 2009. “Gender Politics in Transitional Societies,” in Racioppi L. & See K. O. eds. Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia. Michigan: Michigan State

reviving the Islamic culture and moving away from Russia.

On the other hand, collectivization policy in Kazakhstan did bring about oppositions, however, it was in some part desired and actively carried out by young Kazakh students, who were “eager to effect social change through the destruction of the older.”³² This, perhaps lined with the big inflow of the Russians to the territory may have made the region less repulsive against Russians. Also, unlike Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan maintained a close relationship with Russia after the independence. In 1996, Kazakhstan signed Eurasian Economic Community and Russia is still a major trading partner for Kazakhstan. I believe that the diverse ethnic composition has influenced the policy makers of the Kazakh government during the transition period. Since there are many Russians living in Kazakhstan, the Kazakh government might have chosen more flexible and open way to satisfy diverse ethnic groups.

A dominant assumption is that Soviet policy and the mission of modernization and transformation on gender relations worked better in Kazakhstan than in Uzbekistan. This is because people in settled societies are assumed to be more religiously inclined and conservative and, therefore, more repulsive, in accepting communist ideology and culture, especially modern gender roles.³³ Consequently, after the fall of the Soviet

University Press. pp. 211.

³² Olcott, Martha B. 1995. “The Kazakhs”. 2nd edition. California: Hoover Institution Press. pp. 180-181

³³ Sancak, Meltem & Finke, Peter. 2007. “Konstitutsiya Buzildi! Gender Relations in Kazakhstan

government, religious inclination accelerated the process of re-traditionalization and Islamization in sedentary Uzbekistan faster than in other Central Asian countries.

3. Islamic Tendency

As mentioned in the above chapter, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan share common historical traits – the introduction of Islamic culture and the Mongolian conquest. No doubt, Islam has deeply penetrated into Central Asian people's lives for centuries, and it is an important factor in explaining the formation of their cultural identity and lives. However, throughout history, Islamic culture has not been uniformly adopted and developed in each region, rather it has been merged and developed into cultural identities peculiar to each region, and in the regions of Central Asia diverse identities coexisted like a “colorfully knitted carpet”. Especially, the difference in Islamic tendency had been evident in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan during the process of national segmentation in Central Asia. Uzbeks chose the sedentary lifestyle and adopted Islamic tradition, leaving profound imprint in their identity, while Kazakhs chose to maintain the traditional Mongolian nomadic way of life. Haghayeghi suggests, “strong ethnic loyalties and tribal lifestyle in the past have been identified as the factors influencing the present Islamic orientation” therefore, “Kazakhstan had been the most tribal and the least Islamic in

and Uzbekistan,” in Jeff Sahadeo & Russell Zanca eds. *Everyday Life in Central Asia. Past and Present*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. p. 162.

orientation”.³⁴ In Kazakhstan, where tribalism and shamanism prevailed until the Soviet invasion, Islamic rituals have been adopted more slowly and less systematized and organized than in Uzbekistan. Also, the society of the pastoral nomads was self-sufficient and isolated from the cities, where Islam was largely practiced. Living in a steppe area, the Kazakhs did not have frequent contact with the Muslims and if they had it was with Sufi travelers, who merged shamanistic elements into their religion. As such, without precise teachings of Islam and without observing formal principles (like performing daily prayers, attending mosques, gathering tithes on earnings), Kazakhs developed a folk religion closely related to their everyday life. For Kazakhs, whose life mainly depended on livestock breeding, animal, land, water and nature was as important as God. The following words of a 19th century Kazakh poet show how important livestock was to the Kazakhs:

“Honor, reason, science, all for them [the Kazakhs] is less than livestock.
They think that by the gift of livestock they may receive the good opinion
even of god. For them religion is livestock, the people is livestock,
knowledge is livestock, and influence is livestock.”³⁵

Further, shamanistic rituals and animal worshiping were commonly practiced among the

³⁴ Haghayeghi, Mehrdad. 1994. “Islamic Revival in the Central Asian Republics,” *Central Asian Survey*. Vol. 13. No. 2. p. 251.

³⁵ Olcott, Martha B. 1995. “The Kazakhs”. 2nd edition. California: Hoover Institution Press. pp. 19-20

Kazakh nomads:

“The Kazakhs believed that the spirits of the dead inhabited the sun, moon, earth, and various animals, and that such spirits could be contacted and urged to mediate against the forces of evil. [...] Communication with the spirits was believed to occur when the oil or rendered fat of a sacrificed animal was poured on a fire, aided by the services of shamans.”

[...]

“The Kazakhs believed that separate spirits inhabited the earth (*jher-ana*), water (*su-ana*), fire (*ot-ana*), and each of the animals that they tended, sheep (*shopan-ana*), cows (*zengi-baba*), horses (*kambar-ata*), and camels (*oisal kara*). In some accounts such spirits are represented as a patron saint or holy father who was prayed to when the occasion demanded; for example, prayers to *jher-ana* were offered in times of ice storms, to *su-ana* when there was drought, and to the various animal spirits when the herds were ill or needed replenishment.”³⁶

The Uzbeks had settled large cities and ruled most of the khanates in Central Asia and had comparatively more interaction with external forces, as well as Islam. On the contrary, the Kazakhs, being a nomadic periphery, did not have large cities and were

³⁶ Ibid, p. 20

isolated from the outside. The society was more clan-based and tribal and consequently the inflow of Islam was slower and ‘syncretized with pre-Islamic beliefs’ than other regions of Central Asia.³⁷ Although originated from a same culture, Uzbeks and Kazakhs went through different social formations.

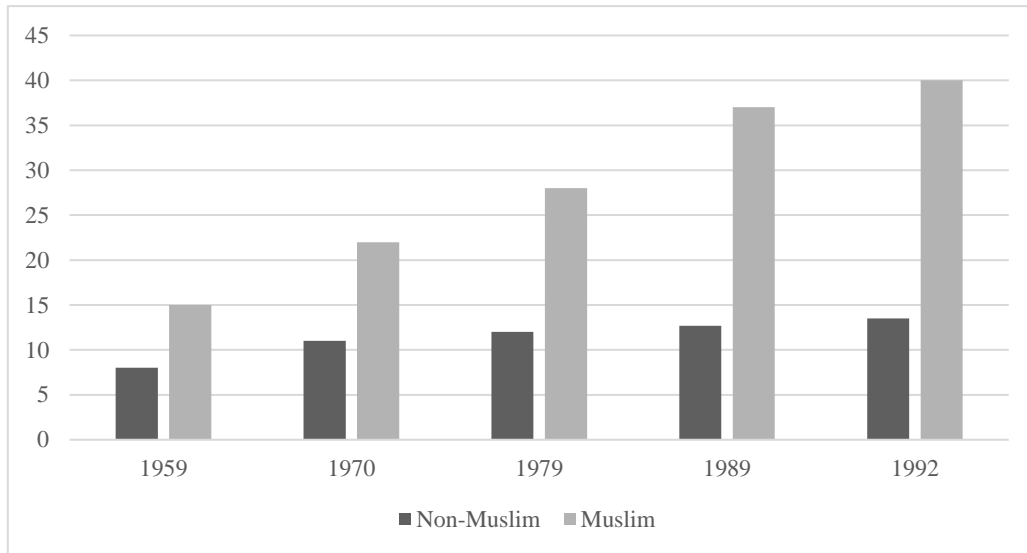
The Islamic revival could be observed in all Central Asian countries after the independence, with Uzbekistan and Tajikistan leading the process.³⁸ Especially Uzbekistan was fast in constructing *mosques* and *madrases* (Islamic schools) and accepting Islamic literatures for distribution. Among the 7800 mosques opened in Central Asia in 1994, almost half were in Uzbekistan, and nearly 380 *madrases* were opened and the number of students enrolled in major Islamic institutions tripled in the region after the independence. Also, in 1990, Uzbekistan received 1,000,000 copies of Koran from Saudi Arabia.³⁹ Below Figures 3 and 4 show the distribution of Muslim population by the time series from 1959 up to 1992, and provide the number of Muslims and non-Muslims living in Central Asian Republics right after the independence. We can see that the large number of Muslims are centered in Uzbekistan, while the distribution of Muslims and non-Muslim population in Kazakhstan is almost equal.

³⁷ Phillips, Andrew & James, Paul. 2001. “National Identity between Tradition and Reflexive Modernization: The Contradictions of Central Asia,” *National Identities*. Vol. 3. No. 1. p. 26

³⁸ Haghayeghi, Mehrdad. 1995. “Islam and Politics in Central Asia,” New York: St Martin’s Press. p. 96

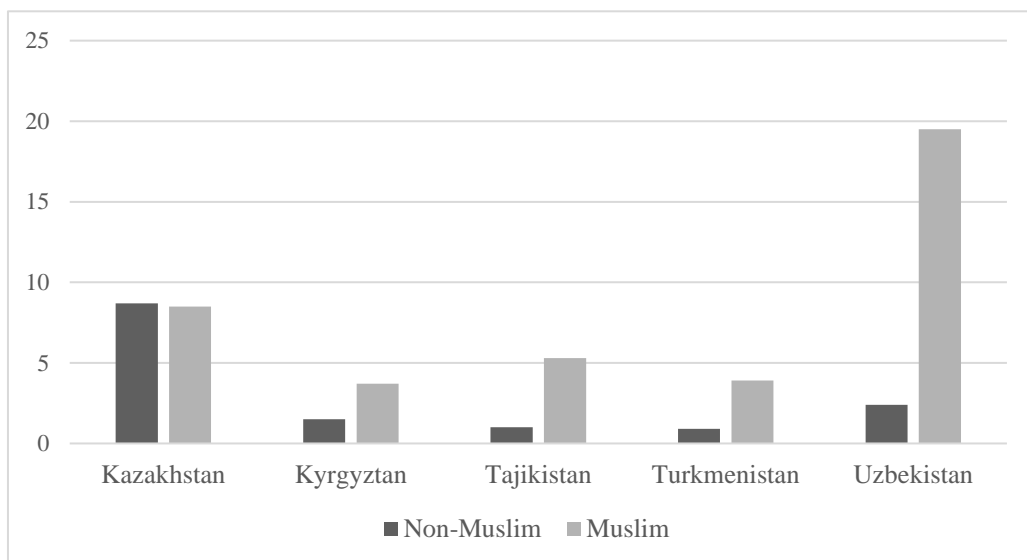
³⁹ Ibid. pp.96-97

Figure 3. Muslim and Non-Muslim Populations of Central Asia



Source: Haghayeghi, Mehrdad. 1995. 174

Figure 4. Muslim and Non-Muslim Populations of Central Asian Republics, 1992



Source: Haghayeghi, Mehrdad. 1995. 175

4. Religious Tendency and Women's Work

The level of religious tendency of a society is closely correlated with its attitudes towards gender roles. In other words, the more Islamic a society is, the stricter the people tend to be in observing traditional gender roles. Number of studies proved the negative correlation between these two factors. For instance, Jones and McNamara suggested that there is a significant relationship between the religiosity and the perception toward women's economic activity. According to their findings, the *intrinsic* believers, "who internalized their beliefs and sought to live their lives by these precepts"⁴⁰ tend to be more conservative towards gender role and prefer their wives to stay home with children than pursue their career than *extrinsic* believers, "for whom religion is primarily a source of comfort and convenience."⁴¹ Women with higher intrinsic religious orientation, also puts more importance to family and prefer rearing children to working. In general, women tend to possess more feminine traits, that is, more "nurturing and empathic" than men, and thus often comply with traditional gender roles.⁴²

Based on above studies, we can assume that in Uzbekistan, where

⁴⁰ Jones, Barbara & McNamara, Kathleen. 1991. "Attitudes Towards Women and Their Work Roles: Effects of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religious Orientations," *Sex Roles*. Vol. 24. No. 1. p. 23

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Sevim S. A. 2006. "Religious Tendency and Gender Roles: Predictors of the Attitudes Toward Women's Work Roles?" *Social Behavior and Personality*. Vol. 34. No. 1. pp. 83-84

comparatively severe anti-Soviet movement and a backlash of Islamic revival took place, attitudes toward women roles are more conservative than in Kazakhstan. The Soviets attempts to liberate women by increasing female participation in the labor force has definitely increased the gender status in economic sphere. However, whether it has changed the strongly patriarchal system inside the house remains doubtful. During the process of unveiling and even after, in many Uzbek families, men remained to be the head of the family and strictly adhered to stereotypical gender roles.

Therefore, some people evaluate the Soviet government's plan of female liberation has a failure, since it did not actually weaken the Islamic perception of gender role in the regions. Instead, some suggest that it increased a burden for women making them work both outside and inside houses.⁴³ Most Uzbek women had to work at during the daytime and look after children and do the house duties when they come back home after work. This explains why many Muslim women chose to stay at home as a "successful wife and mother" fulfilling the traditional female responsibilities. This problem is active until today in Uzbekistan, with women doing most of the housework and spending 44.9% of their free time on housekeeping, and men spending 80.3% of their free time on leisure and personal care.⁴⁴

⁴³ 박혜경. 2011. "현대 러시아에서 이슬람의 부활, 그리고 여성 무슬림의 선택," 러시아연구. 제21권. 제1호.

⁴⁴ UNDP. 2018. "Statistical Bulletin. Women and Men of Uzbekistan 2000-2005," Accessed

IV. Quantitative Dimensions of Women's Work in two Countries

Although legal codes have been enacted to protect women's rights, most of them are poorly implemented and monitored in real life in Central Asia. After the independence, the globalization and the pressure from western countries have influenced the newly emerging government to adhere to international norms, however, its implementation is inconsistent and uneven. Family laws that protect women's rights on property, marriage and divorce, are weakly enforced and the problems of early marriages, domestic violence, and discrimination in inheritance still exist. The Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) provided by OECD is an important dataset that measures gender inequality across non-OECD countries. It captures "the underlying factors" of gender inequality in non-OECD countries by observing its social institutions – the influences of formal and informal laws, social norms and practices on women's rights. According to SIGI reports in 2012, gender inequality rate is higher in Uzbekistan than Kazakhstan.

September 20.

http://www.uz.undp.org/content/uzbekistan/en/home/library/democratic_governance/statistical-bulletin--women-and-men-of-uzbekistan--.html

Table 3. SIGI Rankings of Gender Inequality

2012 Ranking*	Country	SIGI Score	2009 Ranking**
1	Argentina	0.006	4
2	Costa Rica	0.022	5
3	Paraguay	0.064	1
...
14	Kazakhstan	0.122	3
...
57	Uzbekistan	0.304	...

Source: OECD. 2012.

*Among 86 non-OECD countries. **Among 102 non-OECD countries. The lower the ranking, the higher the level of gender equality. The lower the SIGI score, the higher the level of gender equality.

Table 3 shows that Kazakhstan ranked 14 out of 86 non-OECD countries in 2012, and in 2009 it ranked 3rd place which is even higher than Russia and some European countries. This suggests that the gender equality is relatively high in the region. On the contrary, the level of gender equality is low in Uzbekistan, taking 57th place among non- OECD countries.

1. Women's Participation in Labor Force

Another measurement by World Economic Forum suggests the similar results. Their estimates show that female labor force participation is higher in Kazakhstan than in Uzbekistan (Table 4).

Table 4. Labor Force Participation of Women

	Ranking	
	2006*	2008**
Kazakhstan	9	11
Uzbekistan	37	53

Source: Hausmann, Ricardo. D.T., Laura, and Zahidi, Saadia. 2008.

*Among 115 countries. **Among 130 countries

The World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Index focuses on gender gap in economic sector. This measurement is important, since women's economic status is one of the most crucial indicator that shows the actual gender situation of a society. When more women are economically empowered, they become less dependent on men and thus it is an important factor in achieving gender equality.

The statistics of UN Data suggest that women's participation in economy in Kazakhstan is higher compared to Uzbekistan (Table 5). Also, we can see that the percentage of female population is increasing in both countries, but very slowly.

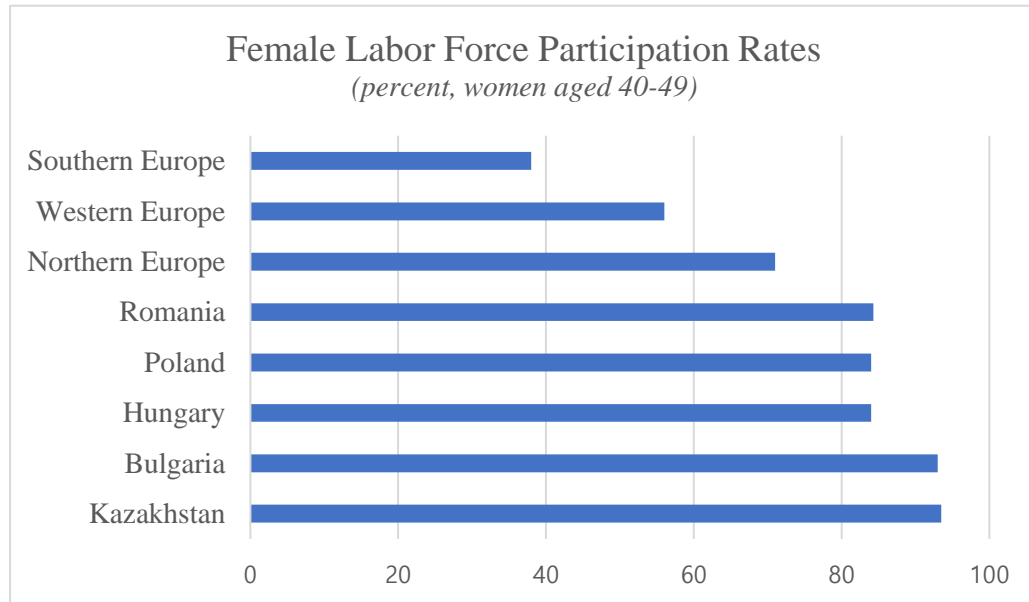
Table 5. Labor Force Participation of Male and Female

	2005		2010		2014	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Kazakhstan	64.4	75.2	65.5	75.8	65.8	76.5
Uzbekistan	47.2	72.1	47.6	74.4	48.2	75.9

Source: UN Data. 2018.

It is interesting to note that the female labor force participation rate in Kazakhstan was even higher than some of the European countries after the independence (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Female Labor Force Participation Rates



Source: Bauer, Armin & Boschmann, Nina & Green, David. 1997. 23.

2. Gender patterns in Labor Market

Although women's economic activity is slowly increasing, there is a clear segregation in the sectors of work. More women than men engage in low-skilled and low-paid works. Asian Development Bank reports that Uzbek women work mostly as housekeepers, vendors in bazaars, nurses, and school teachers. Also, women are centered in domestic services, which require less knowledge and skills. For instance, in Tashkent, 73.7% of female migrants from rural area reported working in household washing and cleaning jobs or service sectors, whereas male predominated technical, managerial, and industrial fields. The below Table 6 shows that the overall percentage of women in

managerial positions are low, especially in industry, science, trade, agriculture, and financial sectors.

Table 6. Gender Employment in Managerial Positions in Uzbekistan, 2006

Sectors of Economy	Number of High Rank Officials (%)	
	Female	Male
<i>Industry</i>	18.6	81.4
<i>Agriculture and forestry</i>	4.2	95.8
<i>Transport</i>	13.7	86.3
<i>Communication</i>	33.0	67.0
<i>Construction</i>	18.4	81.6
<i>Trade, catering, sale and procurement</i>	21.3	78.7
<i>Education</i>	45.7	54.3
<i>Culture and arts</i>	44.6	55.4
<i>Science</i>	27.2	72.8
<i>Finance, credit and insurance</i>	21.8	78.2

Source: UNDP. 2018.

On the contrary, Kazakh women are employed in industry and trade more than Uzbek women. Especially, they are predominant in textile and clothing industry. Kazakh women tend to be more active and flexible and has higher entrepreneurial spirit. According to the survey done by Asian Development Bank on 20,000 people in Almaty

80% of respondents were female employees and self-entrepreneurs. This may be due to the higher educational attainments of young women in Kazakhstan. Marina Baskakova suggests that the share of female students in higher education differs by the regions of the Caucasus and Central Asia, with Kazakhstan reaching the highest of 58.1 percent surpassing the number of male students.⁴⁵

Table 7. Female Employment by Economic Sector, 1993 (in percent, Kazakhstan)

Female Labor Force ('000)	2,663.3
Women as Percent of Total Labor Force	46.0
Material Sphere (women as percent of total sector employment)	
Industry	43
Agriculture	33
Forestry	19
Transport	23
Communication	65
Construction	26
Trade, Canteen, Supply	68
Data Processing Service	79

⁴⁵ Baskakova, Marina. 2007. "Some aspects of youth education, gender equality and employment in the Caucasus and Central Asia," Moscow: International Labor Organization. p. 38.

Other Types of Material Production	35
Social Sphere	
Communal Service	40
Health, Sport, and Social Protection	77
Education	71
Culture	66
Arts	50
Science	45
Others	
Banking and State insurance	75
Public Administration, Management	49

Sources: Bauer, Armin & Boschmann, Nina & Green, David. 1997. 24.

V. Conclusion

As mentioned previously, although Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan share common Soviet experiences and Islamic culture, several statistics suggest that each country has different levels of gender inequality. Especially gender discrimination is clearly shown in labor market. This thesis compares the status of women in economy in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and suggests that gender inequality level is higher in non-nomadic area than in nomadic area. In order to understand a certain phenomenon, I believe that it is important to trace back to the history of the last century and study the earlier systems, which remained intact and influenced current life of people. For the past several centuries, identity was differently structured in Central Asia. For Central Asians, unlike Europeans, neither a common language nor common land were a barometer to distinguish themselves from the others, but the lifestyle – nomadic or sedentary – was an unchanging “marker of identity.”

Thus, when the Soviet government planned to modernize Central Asia, it did not impose identical modernization campaigns in all regions, but diversified the policies depending on the region. Female liberation campaigns were more centered in Islamic Uzbekistan than in Kazakhstan. The Soviet government’s efforts to bring female into labor market had enhanced social gender status in most of the Soviet regions, however, it had an opposite effect in Uzbekistan, inculcating anti-Soviet sentiments among the people and strengthening conservative Islamic traditions. This tendency continued for

long and had certain impact on structuring gender dynamics today.

From the above observations, we can conclude that the factors – religiosity, lifestyle (sedentary or nomadic), and gender status of a society – are not independent from each other but rather interconnected. The differences in inequality rate has been formed gradually out of the values and attitudes throughout the history, therefore, it is important to examine how these factors correlate to get a better understanding of the Central Asian Muslim society.

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국문초록

중앙아시아 무슬림 여성의 지위와 역할은 제정 러시아 및 소비에트의 통치 시기를 거치면서 많은 변화를 겪었다. 소비에트 정부는 중앙아시아 지역에서 현대화와 소비에트화 (Sovietization) 정책을 추진했고 그 일환으로 여성 해방 운동을 펼쳤다. 이 시기에 중앙아시아는 집중적인 현대화 과정을 경험했고 사회주의 이데올로기에 대치되는 기존의 이슬람 문화와 전통은 붕괴되었다. 무슬림 여성들을 종교적 압박으로부터 해방시켜 여성의 노동력을 사회화 하려는 소비에트 정부의 노력은 무슬림 여성의 의식에 변화를 가지고 왔으며 그들의 경제적, 정치적 활동을 고양시켰다. 하지만 독립 이후 우즈베키스탄과 카자흐스탄 여성의 사회적 역할과 지위는 국가별로 상이하게 나타나고 있다. 우즈베키스탄과 카자흐스탄은 공통된 이슬람 전통과 소비에트 경험을 가지고 있음에도 불구하고 여성의 지위, 특히 경제활동 참여율에 차이가 나타난다. 본 논문은 두 국가의 여성의 지위 차이를 비교연구한다. 그리고 ‘정착전통-유목전통’의 문화적 접근이 현재 두 나라에서 여성의 지위 차이를 설명하는데 중요한 요소라고 본다.

주요어: 무슬림 여성, 정착지대, 유목지대, 중앙아시아, 경제활동, 성
차별

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